4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *ailla-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *vutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

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evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land.

On Alonquco the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división)* and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the establishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere.

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob-

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quarters of a century by the Mapuche themselves. The wide-eyed visiting specialist and the local Chileans, who observe the Mapuche with hooded eyes, see Mapuche "society" rather discretely or in a piecemeal fashion, if at all. They see Mapuche individuals in momentary situational adjustment to outside technical, economic, political, or religious pressures. At most, they observe these adjustments in family-sized segments of Mapuche society. Even Titiev did not *see* patrilineages. The agricultural expert is primarily interested in how Sr. Huenchulaf contours his fields, not in defining the organization of reservation agriculture. The Mapuche adjust as individuals to the questions of the anthropologist and the suggestions of the agronomist, responses which are immediately impressive to an alien eye. This book deals with what lies beneath these surface phenomena.

Notions of private ownership of farmland and the need to deal in dyadic relationships with Chileans in the market-oriented economy appear, on spot analysis, to divest the Mapuche farmer of his cultural heritage. In his relationship with Chileans the Mapuche is "stupid," "withdrawn," "ashamed." True. But this stupidity, withdrawal, and shame actually constitute symbols of Mapuche social integrity.

It is to be expected, especially in view of the historical record, that economic or ecological changes will have a cumulative effect and eventually wear away the structure of Mapuche society. McBride, in 1936, predicted the distintegration of Mapuche society, casting his eye on Chilean legislation which threatened the existence of the reservations. He was neither the first nor the last to forecast imminent doom. One might even say that such was the hope of Pedro de Valdivia, for that matter. That it is a continuing hope of most Chileans is clear from congressional records. Who can doubt that Mapuche society will eventually crumble? But this is not to say that from internal evidence Mapuche absorption is in sight. Titiev predicted that the Mapuche "may yet retain some of their old ways of life" (1951:152) for a few more generations, claiming that the Mapuche are today virtually indistinguishable from Chilean peasants around them. It is also possible that a legislative act could eradicate Mapuche society much sooner than learned forecasters would have it. All of which indicates something of the futility of such broad conclusions, and points up the superficiality of the inquiry which gave rise to them.

The Mapuche family does not stand alone, apart from coresidents of the reservation community. It is on one hand linked to the market place and on the other to the larger community — the lineage seg-

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ment, the maximal lineage, the residential kingroup, the multilineage reservation, and the multireservational structure which constitutes the nucleus of units in the systems of matrilateral marriage and ritual congregationalism. Behind the façade of rational economic judgment, the individual and his family are deeply imbedded in the web of relationships which constitute reservation social structure. 594 182

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594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence – at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships – and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is – at least during one or more phases of its development – always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of [613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated [596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests [594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) [621] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen – father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [596] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the 613 breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. [114] Since *lofn* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any [595] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

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6

The Domestic Group

Every Mapuche is born into an elementary family, a reproductive unit consisting of father, mother, and children, with which he identifies to some extent as long as it exists as a unit – that is, as long as his parents live. The same individual, after he marries, is almost always a member of a larger and differently composed domestic group in which the elementary unit into which he was born (his family of "orientation," or part of it) is a segment among others which have become attached to it and which includes the families of procreation of himself and his brothers. This family constellation constitutes a phase in the growth cycle of the domestic group and is called herein an extended or a joint-extended family. I use extended family in the sense of a corporate social unit, whether or not it is domiciled under a single roof. With the death of the paterfamilias, the several elementary units constitute a joint family of brothers and their wives and children, as long as they remain integrated. Of somewhat different composition is the group or segments of it which is formed around half-siblings, in cases where either the father (or less often the mother) has married more than once. These tend to be polygynous families. In any case, where these half-siblings are domiciled under one roof or in a single residential cluster of households, this comprises a domestic arrangement which is herein called a compound family.

These three types, elementary, joint-extended, and compound, are

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178 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
594 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
596 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to [207] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting
592 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary
594 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit.
63 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been
174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

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holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact—that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons—than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup—with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements—is a

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178 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the
594 establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing eco-
596 nomic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by
[114] informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A,[2] which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

[2] [See Cat. 116, pp. 229 – 233 -- Analyst]

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED [a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities, although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with, even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and these changes are related intimately to the changing economic structure with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricultural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority. Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

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roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [587] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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596 [606] rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime [603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her [606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible [607] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[607] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

[594] Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need 596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the 423 retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, [613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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595 589 768 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the [554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more [594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are 428 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along [613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of [618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance [587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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583 [584] however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 594 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the [422] [431] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she [587] [613] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice [589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 586 768 [198] In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 582 [613] Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 582 [167] There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The elementary-family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *ñillatun* and *ɛwn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.